

## **Chapter Three**

# **1830 & 1848 revolutions: Development of Liberalism and Nationalism**

### **Outline and Study Guide:**

1. Various Interpretations
2. A brief description of revolts in Europe in 1830: France Revolution, Belgium independence, Italian revolution and German revolution
3. Account for the outbreak of 1830 revolutions in Europe.
4. General Outcome of the 1830 revolutions
5. A brief description of revolts in Europe in 1848: France Revolution, Austrian revolution, Italian Revolution and German revolution.
6. Reasons for the outbreak of these revolutions: Liberalism and nationalism?
7. The reasons of failure and success of the revolutions.
8. Would you agree that 1848 was turning point in European history?
9. **“The 1830 and 1848 revolutions was a response to the defects of Vienna Settlement.” Critically discuss this statement.**
10. **“The 1830 and 1848 revolutions was a product of liberalism and nationalism.” Discuss the validity of this statement.**
11. **“France was the home of 1830 and 1848 liberal and national revolutions in Europe.” Critically examine this statement.**
12. **Discuss the effects of the 1848 Revolution in Europe upon liberalism and nationalism during the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.**

## **Various Interpretations**

Metternich

1. "The world is very ill, and the sickness is spreading every day."
2. "Whenever France sneezes, the whole Europe catches a cold."

B.E. Schmitt

1. "had profound consequences for history precisely because of its failure."

G.M. Trevelan

1. "was the turning point at which modern history failed to turn."

M. Walker

1. "the wave of revolutions in 1848 brought an end to the age of Metternich."

Albrecht-Carrie

1. "The year 1846 was one of economic crisis in Europe : crop failures resulting in higher food prices, decreased purchasing power reflected in lower industrial production, hence unemployment; financial crisis as well, all these contributed to create a climate suitable to political and social unrest."

V.D. Majahan

1. "The 1848 Revolutions were product of liberalism and nationalism. In western Europe such as France, the Liberals dominated the Revolution. In Central Europe such as German Confederation, it was a drive for both liberal and national targets. In Eastern Europe such as Hungary, it was national rather than liberal."

## **A brief description of revolts in Europe in 1830: France Revolution, Belgium independence, Polish, Italian and German revolutions**

### **I. Successful Revolutions in France and Belgium**

#### **A. The July Revolution 1830 in France**

1. liberal and anti-clerical movement, for details, see chapter 5.

#### **B. The Belgium Revolution of 1830**

##### Background and process

In 1815 Belgium was given to Holland to form the United Netherlands under the Dutch king, William I as a barrier against French ambition. The union of Holland and Belgium failed because the Dutch and the Belgian had different interests and were conscious of separate nationality. They did not share the same mother tongue while in religion the Dutch were predominately Calvinist, the south Roman Catholic. Belgium was an industrial and agricultural country while Holland was largely commercial and seafaring.

The Belgian Revolution of 1830 rested on nationalist desires for independence and liberal opposition to the autocratic rule of William I who was tactless and self-willed. Belgium was run mainly in the interests of the Dutch minority and mainly by Dutch officials.

In 1819 a knowledge of Dutch was demanded from all candidates for public offices. Dutch was the official language, Belgian newspapers were censored. All the important government and military posts were dominated by Dutch. In the States General<sup>1</sup> Holland and Belgium were represented equally although the Belgians nearly doubled the population of Holland. The Belgians felt that they were overtaxed in comparison with the Dutch. By 1828 Belgium's two main sections of opposition, the conservative Catholics and the Liberals, united to resist Dutch domination.

Inspired by the success of the French revolutionaries in July Revolution, the Belgians revolted against the rule of William I. On 25 August, 1830 performance of a revolutionary group caused riots in the provincial towns which developed into revolution. The wealthy classes in the towns, fearing disorders, organized themselves into committees of Society and Armed Civil Guard to protect property. Facing the revolutionaries the king agreed to summon the States-General, who on 29 Sept. voted for separation. But meanwhile the insurrection in Brussels, backed by bands of volunteers from other parts, had taken control. The Dutch troops were driven away and the provisional government was set up. On 4 October it proclaimed complete independence of Belgium. On 18 November its

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<sup>1</sup> States General - Equivalent to "Parliament" in Britain. It was a central institution of the unites provinces of Netherlands.

independence was confirmed in a National Congress. By February 1831 it promulgated a new constitution, which was the most liberal in Europe at that time.

Reactions of the Great Powers:

1. The governments of Austria, Prussia and Russia wanted to check the Belgian revolution and preserve the position of 1815. Metternich was occupied by disorders in Italy and Germany, Nicholas I of Russia was ready to send a Russian army into Belgium but he was distracted by an uprising in Poland. Prussia would have been glad to intervene but she feared her intervention would lead to French assistance to Belgium.
2. England was sympathetic. She alone of all Europe was liberal. The Whigs had come to power and Palmerston were in the Foreign Office. He sympathized with nationality. He had sense to see that a reluctant Belgium attached to Holland invite French attack. He recommended to the foreign representatives in London that Belgian independence be promptly recognized.
3. France had many reasons to support the revolution. Belgium was pro-France and linked up with France in culture, language and religion. Moreover, the union of Belgium and Holland was formed against her and she would gladly break it up. Louis Philippe was liberal and was naturally sympathetic.
4. In 1831 the Dutch invaded Belgian territory to regain it and in ten days defeated the Belgian forces. France sent troops and forced the Dutch to withdraw. The London Conference regulated Dutch-Belgian relations by the Treaty of the Twenty-four Article. In 1832 the five Powers: Austria, Russia, France, Britain and Prussia recognized the independence of Belgium and guaranteed her neutrality. Nonetheless it was not until 1839 that the status of independence and neutrality of Belgium was determined by agreements of the Powers. Leopold was to rule the country with skill and good sense for the next 34 years. Under his guidance Belgium was set to follow a course of development closely parallel to that of Catholicism with liberalism, in a spirit of bourgeois moderation.

## **II. Abortive Revolutions in Poland, Italian and Germany states.**

### **A. The 1830 Revolution in German Confederation**

The July Revolution in France acted as a spur to the Liberal movement. Radical students and journalists became active after the news of July Revolution had reached Germany. They rallied together. Prussia and Austria were absorbed by their foreign affairs so that they could hardly take any interest in the fate of Germany. However, Metternich proved too strong for the revolutionaries. It was unsuccessful in Germany. In 1834 Metternich persuaded the German states to receive the Carlsbad Decrees. So the achievement of the revolutionaries was slight. Only some concessions were made in some states such as Brunswick, Saxony and Bavaria.

## **B. The 1830 Revolution in Italian States**

Liberals were encouraged by the July Revolution. The leaders were those intellectuals. The movement was weakened by provincial rivalry and personal jealousies. Some liberals and nationalists imagined that Louis Philippe might come to their support, but Louis Philippe had no desire to challenge Austria.

Enrico Misely, a lawyer of Modena, had planned a scheme for the creation of constitutional kingdom of Central Italy under the Duke Francis of Modena. Misely believed that Louis Philippe would give him a new hope that France would oppose any Austrian intervention in Italy. He wanted Italian independence depended on conflict between France and Austria. In February 1831 a revolt broke out in Modena. Francis betrayed the movement and arrested those local leaders.

There were disturbances in Bologna and Parma. It was the lack of agreement between the rebels and the indifference of the masses that made the revolt failed.

## **C. The 1830 Revolution on Poland**

In the Vienna Settlement Poland had been recognized as an independent kingdom under the overlordship of Russia. Alexander I had granted the constitution to Poles. Poland thus had its own system of government with an elected assembly and had its military and law courts. Liberty and freedom of press were also granted.

There were much progress in education. University of Warsaw was founded in 1816. After 1818 Alexander I became increasingly reactionary and did not keep the terms of constitution. His successor Nicholas I was more autocratic. He determined to spread Russian influence in Poland and was going to destroy those liberal parties in Poland. The main opposition came from nobles and students, various secret societies and the officers of the army.

The July Revolution in France and Belgium led directly to the insurrection in Poland. Nicholas I intended to use Polish troops to crush the revolutionaries in France and Belgium. As a result in November 1830 these troops mutinied and seized their capital, Warsaw. With the support of the nobles and students, they set up a provisional government in Warsaw. They were encouraged by the expression of sympathy by Britain and France, but there were no aid. On the other hand Prussia gave every assistance to Russia. This insurrection was crushed within one year. Warsaw was fell in September 1831.

It was followed by the complete destruction of Polish freedom. Nicholas I had made Poland a part of Russian Empire Polish leaders were in exile. It was unsuccessful due to mainly three reasons.

- i. Not the whole of Polish population took part in revolution;
- ii. Polish leaders could not agree among themselves;
- iii. Britain and France did not help the Poles

**III. Overall Conclusion of 1830 revolutions**

It showed that Europe was in a very unstable condition in 1830. The Vienna Settlement was in danger of being upset. Only in some cases of Belgium, there were some changes. The authority of rulers was being seriously challenged. Nationalism and liberalism was slowly undermining the old order.

However, as a result of these revolts, in Central, Eastern and Southern Europe, Metternich System was still prevailed. In Belgium and France peoples enjoyed greater freedom as a result of revolution. The success of Belgium and France had inspired the liberals and the nationalists to start stronger and more coordinated actions.

## **Account for the outbreak of 1830 revolutions in Europe.**

There were three common causes which led to the 1830 revolutions in Europe, mainly liberalism, nationalism and the economic crises.

1. **By 1830, there was a period of economic progress and the main social and political consequence of economic change was a strengthening of the numbers, wealth and influence of the men who were engaged in manufacturing, business and trade.** It was here that there was a more direct connection between the early phases of the industrial revolutions and the growth of liberalism. The new men who grew rich on industry claimed a policy more favorable to their interest, and therefore a form of government more sensitive to their opinions. Then led to the revolution in France, Belgium, parts of Germany, Italy and Switzerland and in Poland. In Portugal and Spain civil war began. These revolutions were mainly liberal revolts led by the wealthy middle classes. They were primarily protest against the rigidities and shortcomings of the conservative policies adopted since 1815.

As in France, with Villele as his chief minister, Charles X carried out much of the ultra-royalist program. He purged the army officers, pay an indemnity to the émigré and reduced the rate of interest on the National debt from 5 to 3%. This infuriated the bourgeoisie. The situation was intensified by the strong control of the clerical influences; the clergy suppressed the paganism; a law was passed which made sacrilege punishable by death; the Jesuit and other orders were readmitted and the church influenced on education. The educated class resented all these. The new press law in 1826 solidified liberal opposition: censorship was re-imposed, penalties increased and persecutions on publishers. The situation was by no means better than when the government intervened in behalf of Greek Independence and sent an expedition to seize Algiers. Charles X even attempted a coup d'état and issued the Ordinances of St. Cloud: the freedom of the press restricted; a new electoral law was passed, disfranchising three-fourths of the electors, most of whom were middle class; and new elections were called for September. These ordinances provided the immediate cause of the July Revolution. The revolution began due to the restriction of the Government and the people asked for more freedom. Therefore, the 1830 revolution in France was a war of liberalism.

The revolt in Belgium was also caused by liberalism. Belgium was run mainly in the interests of the Dutch minority; Dutch was the official language; Belgian newspapers were censored, the important government and military posts were held by Dutch and the Belgians were overtaxed. Therefore, conservative Catholics and the Liberals united to resist Dutch domination and promulgated a constitution later. The revolution in Belgium was caused by liberalism rather than nationalism. Had the Dutch not treated the Belgians so unfairly, a revolt might have not been occurred in Belgium.

In Switzerland, the government of 22 Cantons were mostly in the hands of local aristocracies and they were conservatives. So liberal groups demanded liberal and

democratic constitution. This was another example for the cause of Revolution in 1830, that is, mainly liberalism.

The revolution in Poland also caused by liberalism. The situation had already worsened under the restrictions of liberty under Alexander I but it was intensified under the oppressive rule of Nicholas I. A revolt broke out under the leadership of a secret society and university students. A provisional government was set up, which bargained with the Tzar for reforms. This further showed that liberalism were a common cause of the revolution in 1830.

The revolts in Italy and German Confederation was caused by liberalism and the people tried to demand freedom for the government ruled.

2. **Another common cause, despite less significance, should be nationalism. Nationalism means people with same race, same culture who struggle for national independence and also national glory.** In the July Revolution, one should not ignore the bored foreign policy of Charles X had discontented some patriots who sought national glory as Napoleon Bonaparte. In the Belgium Revolution, the national desire of the Belgians for independence was also obvious.
3. **The last common cause was the economic crises.** As in France, a mob to riot in the streets of Paris. Economic conditions supplied the material to fill the gap. The population of France had increased by nearly 2.5 million between 1815 and 1830, without any marked increase in agricultural or industrial productively in these years. After a short economic recession in 1817, a new and severer crisis began in 1826 and was to last until 1832. That misery alone did not make revolutions is suggested by the significant fact that the populace provided insurrectionary mobs only in Paris, where the political agitation was concentrated.



## **General Outcome of the 1830 revolution**

1. The 1830 Movement resulted in the violation of some of the decisions made by the Congress of Vienna.
  - i. The revolution had swept the Bourbons, who had been restored by the Congress of Vienna, from the throne of France. Louis Philippe became the king.
  - ii. Belgium became independent of Holland;
  - iii. After the Polish revolt, the constitution was abolished and Poland became a Russian province;
  - iv. Even where rulers had been reinstated by force, as in the Italian and German states, their temporary overthrow had reminded kings everywhere how fragile was their position, and how independent they were on the general systems of Metternich, already under attack from so many directions.
2. The over-all result of the 1830 revolutions was a disappointment to the liberals. In Germany, Italy and Poland the forces of conservatism triumphed over those of the liberalism, and revolutions were crushed by the concerted actions of Austria, Russia and Prussia. In France, Switzerland, Portugal, Spain and Britain, liberalism triumphed, backed by times by the power of France and Britain. Thus, Europe roughly west of Rhine was moving toward a pattern of liberal, constitutional parliamentary government geared to the special interests of a growing commercial and industrial middle class. Europe east of the Rhine preserved all the main lines of its economic and political pattern of 1815. This remained the basic fact in international relations until 1848.
3. The Metternich System remained intact and almost invulnerable. The provinces of Austria were kept completely subject to Vienna in government and administration. In Russia, with the re-subjection of Poland, and the rules of Nicholas I, reaction reigned triumphant. In Prussia, no substantial progress had been made towards more constitutional or liberal government. By concerted diplomatic action in 1830 and 1831 the three eastern powers had successfully held off any attempts by the western powers to intervene in Italy and Poland. In 1833 they even made a formal treaty of alliance, the Convention, the right to call on them for help to repress it. In the international settlement of the Belgian question, as of the Greek, the old idea of a concert of Europe remained operate. However in nearly every aspect the idea of general concert had driven away to the new reality of rival groups, each acting with concert but in hostility to one another. When France and Britain undertook joint intervention to preserve constitutionalism in Portugal and Spain, Lord Palmerston hailed this action as a new counterpoise to the solidarity of the eastern powers. This “doubled concert of Europe” was, however, an admission that any hope of a general concert was at an end. It implied, instead, a new balance of power with rival sides divided by conflicts between liberal and nationalist ideologies on the one hand, and the preservation of old order on the order.

## **A brief description of revolts in Europe in 1848: France Revolution, Austrian revolution, Italian Revolution and German revolution.**

### **I. Pattern: Initial success and ultimate failure.**

#### **A. Initial Success:**

1. The 1848 Revolution in France was again succeeded and a provisional government was established.
2. The rulers of Italian States granted liberal constitutions and the Austrians were forced to evacuate from Northern Italy;
3. Revolt broke out in Vienna. Metternich was forced to flee and a Constituent Assembly was held.
4. Liberal Constitutions were granted to also the Germans and the Frankfurt Diet was convened.

#### **B. Split of Revolutionaries and Restoration of Reactionary Forces**

1. In Germany, the revolutionaries split over the issues of Greater Germany and Little Germany;
2. In Austria and Hungary, the different ethnic groups quarreled with each other.
3. Meanwhile, the king of Prussia and Austria restored their strength and prepared to strike off the revolution

#### **C. Ultimate Failure**

1. With the support of Russia, Austria and Prussia were able to suppress the revolutions. By 1849 the revolutionary tide in Europe reached its lowest ebb. All except France failed to overthrow the established order.

### **II. Revolutions in different countries**

#### **A. The French Revolution 1848**

(liberal and a bit national movement, for details, see Chapter 3.)

#### **B. The Italian *Risorgimento***

Literally it means resurrection. Politically it could be applied to the movement for Italian unification in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and gained general acceptance as the name of a newspaper founded by Cavour in 1847.

Before 1848 most of the Italian states were subjected to Austrian rule, except the Papal states and the Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia. Most of Italians were influenced by the secret society such as Carbonari and Young Italy which spread the revolutionary ideas throughout the Italian states.

In January, 1848, a rebellion against the misrule of Ferdinand II broke out. As a result, he was compelled to grant a constitution to Sicily. In February and March, the Naples, Tuscany and Piedmont as well as the Pope were induced to grant constitutions. On 18 March, Revolts broke out in Milan (in Genoa) forcing the Austrian troops to evacuate. Revolts broke out also in Venice and the republicans set up the Republic of St. Mark and forced the withdrawal of Austrian forces. As a result, revolts broke out in Lombardy, Venetia, Parma, Tuscany and Modena.

On 24 March, Piedmont, under Charles Albert, together with Lombardy declared war on Austria. The Pope however did not want to engage war with Austria which was a Catholic country. The other states also followed the Pope and gave only little support to Charles Albert. Thus Piedmont and Lombardy eventually defeated on 24 July. Charles Albert abdicated in favor of his more able son, Victor Emmanuel II. In the meantime, unrest in Rome led to the flight of the Pope and the establishment of the Roman Republic. In this stage, Mazzini's long cherished ideal of a republic was set up, with Garibaldi's support.

In July 1849, France overthrew the Roman Republic and French troops occupied Rome, the unrest in Rome was ended with the restoration of Pius IX under the protection of French troops. On 28 August, Republic in Venice was also suppressed and the Revolution failed.

### **C. German Revolution in 1848**

1. In 1840 Frederick William III of Prussia died and had been succeeded by Frederick William IV. William IV seemed to fulfill the liberal's expectations. For example, he relaxed the press censorship and did not hinder the liberal's activities. In 1847, he even summoned a diet consisting of representatives of the Prussian provincial assemblies. But the king refused to entrust the diet with any real constitutional power. This the liberals were disappointed and unable to work with him. The diet was thus dissolved.
2. The 1848 Revolution in France however stirred up revolutionary throughout Europe, including Germany. The 1848 Revolution there was a movement both for representative government in various states and for the creation of a united Germany. In Prussia when the news of France Revolution reached there, the Prussian government hesitated and did not decide whether they should give representative government. In March 1848 the hesitation had produced riots in Berlin. Threatened by this, Frederick William IV summoned a Constituent Assembly. He declared that he himself was in favor of a federal German Reich. In this Reich, there would be an elected parliament, freedom of speech and press and also one nation citizenship. Those smaller German states followed her policy. Towards the end of March, about 5,000 leaders determined to establish both democracy and equality in Germany and they met in Frankfurt.
3. The drawing up of constitution desired for a united Germany. This national assembly was known as the Frankfurt Assembly, which lasted from 18/5/1848 to 21/4/1849. It was predominantly a middle class body, which particularly concerned with the preparation of a federal constitution for all German lands.

4. In the Assembly, the crown of a united Germany was crowned to Frederick William IV. Nonetheless, he rejected the offer because he was personally fear of Austria and he opposed to the constitution which would have given him the right to suspend law but not the right to veto. Then, delegates of Austria and the South German states had already withdrawn. The revolution failed.

#### **D. Austrian Revolution**

##### **1. Austrian Empire:**

- i. There were demands for national independence, such as Magyars in Hungary; Italians in Italy; Poles in Galicia; Czechs in Bohemia as well as Serbs in Croatia.
- ii. There were also demands for constitutional and social reforms: such as Italy, Hungary, Bohemia and also Vienna.

##### **2. Vienna**

Vienna was the capital of Austria and the center of reaction. The revolution was also touched off by the 1848 French Revolution. The revolutionaries in Vienna included all social classes, for example, court factions, liberal aristocrats, middle class and professionals. They demanded for democratic reforms.

On March 13, there were demonstration in Vienna which demanded Metternich to resign. And Metternich was compelled to resign and fled to England. Ferdinand promised for reforms, but the situation got worse. The Imperial Court fled from Vienna to Innsbruck on May 17. The Emperor agreed to summon a Constituent Assembly in July.

##### **3. Bohemia**

In March 1848, a meeting of the Young Czechs was held in Prague. They demanded for a responsible ministry and the recognition of the equality of the Czechs and German language. The Emperor agreed to the demands under such pressure.

##### **4. Hungary**

The King of Austria ruled as the king of Hungary. It was a movement mainly for the Hungarian national independence. They already had a Diet themselves and their movements were led by Kossuth. Although a Magyer himself, he denounced the privileges of the Magyer nobility. He denounced their exemption from taxation and called for the abolition of their feudal law courts and their exaction of forced labor from the peasants. His program included a liberally-elected parliament with the vote given to merchants, traders, professionals and middle class. He demanded equality of all classes before the law and introduction of the jury system.

In March 1848, a mass meeting was held under the leadership of Kossuth which demanded a constitution and parliament along British line. By March 15, the emperor was forced to accept the demands and to establish a constitutional government in Vienna. The Hungarian Diet quickly passed the March Laws. Nonetheless, when Russian troops came to help in May, the situation turned unfavorable to revolutionaries. In August, the revolution was over.

## **Account for the outbreak of 1848 Revolutions in Europe. Was it a total failure?**

To believe that the 1848 Revolutions were accidents is an erroneous historical assumption. Their immediate outbreak might be accidental; but there were strong ideological forces lying beneath which finally accumulated in the outbreak of revolutions in Europe in 1848.

These revolutionary forces were liberalism, nationalism, and socialism typified and symbolized by the constitutional movement in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. What the peoples in Europe desired was a constitution which would grant them liberty of press, freedom of speech, a government based on constitution, and suffusion of industrial life by humane and Christian principles. The latter demand (socialism) was especially apparent in France on the eve of the outbreak of revolution in 1848. These forces were interrelated with one another. In countries still divided into various states, like Germany and Italy or subject to alien rule, like Czechoslovakia and Poland, peoples demanded national unification and liberalism.

In order to understand the nature of 1848 Revolutions we have to turn our attention to the settlement of the Congress of Vienna in 1815. The territorial settlement agreed at the Congress had far-reaching consequences on the European states. It was the principle of legitimacy that finally led to the restoration of the monarchs to their legitimate thrones. Their restoration again resulted in the discontentment of their peoples for the restored monarchs were, if not completely absolute, non-constitutional. Their reactionary policies modeled after Metternich's propelled the people to break into open rebellions in the 20's and 30's. Despite the suppression of these rebellions, they disturbed the concert of Europe framed by Metternich. As time passed by, these revolutionary spirits increased in strength and momentum and were eventually unleashed in the 1848 Revolutions in a large scale. Another significant point of the territorial settlement was the total disregard of national feeling of European states. Lands or countries were exchanged without the consent of the rulers. Thus it is evident that such an action resolved in the Congress would sooner or later arouse a nationalistic sentiment among the peoples who were groaning under alien rule.

It is clear that the nationalistic and liberal sentiments were already operating in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century and were further pushed ahead by about the middle of the century. There must be something irretrievable and deplorable in the governmental machinery in European countries and the social unrest was so uncontrollable that the revolutions in 1848 became inevitable. The government was incompetent, censorship was rigid especially under the premiership of Guizot in France. The economic crisis in 1846 which led to crop failures, high food prices, unemployment and so on then spread to the other parts of Europe. As Albrecht -Carrie said, "these contributed to create a climate suitable to political and social unrest." The voice of liberal demands and of socialist, was explosive to lead to a revolution by the early 1848. In Austria, Metternich dominated its internal and external policies making Austria an extremely reactionary power in Europe. The Austrian government was oppressive and inefficient under Metternich, there existed 'absolutism in government, oppression for the masses and privileges for the few.' So it is clear that in such an absolute government the voice of liberalism was high and loud. The Hungarians, likewise, under the Austrian

domination, demanded for the use of the Magyar language, the adoption of comprehensive scheme of social reform and a 'Hungarian home rule.' Therefore nationalism and liberalism were the forces which generated the 1848 revolution in Hungary. In Germany, German liberalism was a national liberalism with little that was democratic, the movement in 1848 was based on a strong desire for national unity. Italy, under the Austrian domination, was submissive to their alien control, for Austria not only ruled in Venice but kept the members of the Hapsburg family on the thrones of Tuscany, Parma and Modena. Under the reactionary policy of Metternich, the Italians were awakened by the ideologies of liberalism and nationalism. It is crystal-clear that nationalist, liberal and even socialist revolutions would break out in Europe sooner or later. The spark of these revolutions was eventually suited by the liberal revolt in 1848 and it was followed by France and then the wave of revolution spread over the whole continent.

Whether or not the revolutions of 1848 were successful we have to see now. With regard to socialism the revolution of 1848 was a failure. The socialist force in Germany was but the beginning, and Marx and Engels played only a subordinate role as the radical wing of the liberal revolt. Socialism in France, created by the urban proletariat and led by Louis Blanc, did not make much headway and was overshadowed by the liberals in the end, the 'right to work' and the 'national workshop' had to wait for years to come true. The close of the National Workshop sealed the collapse of socialism in France.

Nationalism in Germany, Italy and Hungary also did not materialize in the revolutions in 1848. The Italians in the establishment of the republic in Rome by Mazzini and the Hungarians in the passing of the "March Laws" by the Austrian, they nevertheless collapsed under the mighty force of Radetzky and Windischgratz. In the short run, these revolutions in the sense of socialism and nationalism were abortive. In a long run, however, national unity was achieved in Italy and Germany in 1870 while Austro-Hungarian dual rule was achieved in the 1867. Socialism in France and in Germany did not assume its maturity not until the late 19<sup>th</sup> and the early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Nonetheless, it would be wrong to apply to the phrase 'short term failure' to all the revolutionary movements in 1848 for, with regard to liberalism, both French and the Italians did achieve something. The people got the right to vote after 1848. Universal manhood suffrage was an established fact at the end of the revolution and a republic was proclaimed. But the success in the establishment of a French republic was only temporary for it was later changed to an empire by Napoleon III. The Italians, or to be exact, the Piedmontese got their constitution under the rule of Victor Emmanuel II. This was clearly a great liberal achievement of the revolution of 1848. Nor could it be said that the German princes were as absolute as before the Revolution. Thus the liberals did obtain some liberal concessions from the absolute rulers after revolutions.

Here it should be noticed that what the revolutionaries were fighting against in 1848 was the forces of conservatism, the rule of the Metternich system. Metternich was the rock of order that bound the German, Italian, Hungarian and the Austrian together. The downfall of Metternich and the final sweeping away of the Congress System from the map of Europe meant the doing away of the obstacles that barred the rise of nationalism, liberalism and socialism. It was indeed the triumph of the revolutionaries that Metternich had to flee in 1848.

In conclusion, the corruption, inefficiency, incompetence, high-handed and reactionary policies of the European countries and government on the one hand and social unrest, liberal demands and nationalistic sentiment complied with economic crisis on the other were to be responsible for the outbreak of 1848 Revolutions in Europe. They were to limited extent fruitful but abortive in the other way because success and failure varied from one to other. We cannot consider the revolutions of 1848 as complete failure nor can we say that they achieved all their aims. Nonetheless, it is inescapable that, liberalism was more successful than nationalism in this stage.

## **Would you agree that 1848 was turning point in European history?**

### **A turning point**

Despite the common failure of the revolutions in the whole Europe, the year 1848 can be regarded as the turning point in European history. It turns in various aspects and its consequences are far-reaching.

1. B.E. Schmitt concludes that “1848 had profound consequences for history precisely because of its failure.” In the field of politics, the changes are surprisingly big and rapid. Nationalism was the major product of 1848. It discovered the German Mission. The age of Bismarck, accompanied with his ‘blood and iron’, began. No dynastic power could survive unless it took on a national coloring. Liberalism and democracy, which were comparatively moderate, began to link with the radical nationalism. The unhistorical Nations of the poor Slav people of east and central Europe appeared. Thereafter Europe entered an era of power struggle, and sometimes led to war. Peace could no longer be felt in a long period.
2. Socialism effected by the industrialization, began to fully develop after the historic proclamation of Karl Marx’s “Communist Manifesto”. By this document, the status of workers were raised to the peak point. The discontented workers were agitated to overthrow their government and wipe out the wealthy capitalists without whom they would be free from chains of hard life. The proletarians took roots in towns, and later became an irresistible force to radical changes, still affecting the political scene of present day.
3. This year represented the last gasp of idealists, the end of the tradition of secret society and student revolts and noble gestures. The revolutionaries of 1848, for the last time, put their faith in the power of persuasion, in the wisdom of debate, in the willingness of the ‘haves’ to put themselves out for the ‘have-nots’. However the restorations of conservative power shattered their dreams to pieces. People turned away from liberal idealism and popular enthusiasm. They began to rely on realism and power. The monarchs, as well as the revolutionaries, thought that their opponents could only be brought down by means of violence.
4. One noteworthy point is that the hegemony of France in Europe was declining. The radicals in that country had launched the national principle in 1848 to order to restore French leadership in Europe. Contrary to their expectation, the victory of national principle did not restore the situation like the time of Napoleon. Instead the French brought to themselves a powerful enemy- German, which threatened French security three time since 1848. Also France, or more exactly Paris, was no longer the center of revolutions which could make the whole Europe in panic. However, the nation after 1850, under Napoleon III, became an authoritarian, militarist state temporarily giving up her incentive for republican ideas and parliamentary rights.



5. The old order of eighteenth century was put asunder permanently after 1848. With the fall of Metternich and the downfall of Louis Philippe government, the rule of following tradition passed away. The system of Metternich, as well as the old monarchy in France, could never return. The sovereignty of kings was defeated by the sovereignty of people. Nations replaced states. Intellectuals, not heredity, became the source of authority. Hence, M. Walker remarked, “the wave of revolutions in 1848 brought an end to the age of Metternich.”
6. A. J. Taylor even described 1848 as opening of an era. According to him, the idea of 1848 spread later to Russia, and the Russian revolutions of the 20<sup>th</sup> century were in the true spirit of 1848, which emphasized humanity, liberty, equality and more importantly, national struggling for self-dominance.
7. There emerged into the hearts of the middle class a growing fear of proletarianization after 1848. The proletarians became their arch enemy. However in the eyes of the poor laboring class, it was the wealthy middle class who created their hard conditions of life and work. Therefore the two became intolerant to each other. In subsequent years, when either of them controlled the government, the other would have no place to voice their demand. This is a new power struggle in politics, replacing the old rival of monarchy and the middle class.
8. Another aspect of prominent change lay in society. As the revolutions of 1848 were urban in characteristic, the well-to-do peasants got the chance of survival. By the fall of the monarchy, the poorer peasant lost their last traditional protection and were naturally the victims of exploitation both by the richer peasants and the capitalistic great estates. The deterioration of working and living conditions resulted in two ways. One was the movements of rural population to the towns, affecting the more serious social problem and simultaneously strengthened the force of the proletariat. Another was the mass emigration overseas. People having experienced despair, pain and frustration of failure, wanted to settle in a new environment, hoping to get a better chance of development. The discoveries of gold in California made emigration more widespread. ‘New Imperialism’ was at that time gathering force to create a new situation in the subsequent years.
9. By the result of urbanization, the economy of Europe began to shift from agrarian to industrial. Machinery was largely employed in factories. Unemployment and economic crises became more frequent. In order to survive, the government had to practise the system of direct universal suffrage. They were now more willing to follow the demand of the people. Education was also provided, not to the exclusiveness of nobility, but also to the common folk.
10. Art, philosophy and literature, which are always associated with politics, became less romantic and speculative. They were now realistic, pragmatic and scientific.

### **Not a turning point**

1. G.M. Trevelan stated that “1848 was the turning point at which modern history failed to turn” because autocratic rule was re-established throughout Europe in the 1850’s. For examples, the Italians failed to unify their country, while Austrian control was restored in the North; the Germans failed to establish either Greater or Litter Germany. Despite the flee of Metternich, autocratic rule still appeared in

Austria. More importantly, although Louis Philippe was forced to abdicate, Louis Napoleon was not very democratic indeed.

2. Moreover, as Collins pointed out, the French liberals de-franchised the proletariat and refused to carry out active social reforms, while the movement of middle class to attain power failed such as in the Frankfurt Assembly.